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CONTENTS

	Page
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2451)	1
Expression of thanks to the retiring President	1
Adoption of the agenda	1
The situation in Namibia:	
Letter dated 12 May 1983 from the Permanent Representative of Mauritius to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15760);	
Letter dated 13 May 1983 from the Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15761)	1

NOTE

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2451st MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 1 June 1983, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. Elleck Kufakunesu MASHINGAIDZE (Zimbabwe).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Jordan, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Poland, Togo, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2451)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. The situation in Namibia:
   Letter dated 12 May 1983 from the Permanent Representative of Mauritius to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15760);
   Letter dated 13 May 1983 from the Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15761)

The meeting was called to order at 11.25 a.m.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

1. The PRESIDENT: It gives me great pleasure, at this first meeting of the Security Council for the month of June, to pay tribute, on behalf of the Council, to Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda, the Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation of Zaire, and to Mr. Umba di Lutete, Permanent Representative of Zaire to the United Nations, for their services as President of the Security Council during the month of May. Both guided the work of the Council with great diplomatic skill during a particularly demanding period and I am sure that I speak for all members in expressing to them our deep appreciation.

2. On behalf of the delegation of Zimbabwe, I wish to say how happy and grateful we are to succeed our Zairian brothers, and to share with them the stewardship of the Council in its consideration of the situation in Namibia. We are greatly inspired by the exemplary manner in which they guided the work of the Council during the month of May.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Namibia:

Letter dated 12 May 1983 from the Permanent Representative of Mauritius to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15760);

Letter dated 13 May 1983 from the Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15761)

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In accordance with decisions taken at previous meetings on this item [*2439th to 2444th, and 2446th to 2450th meetings*], I invite the representative of Mauritius to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Botswana, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gabon, the Gambia, the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, Ghana, Grenada, Guinea, Hungary, India, Indonesia, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Kuwait, Liberia, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Malaysia, Mali, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, the Niger, Nigeria, Panama, Qatar, Romania, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Africa, Sri Lanka, the Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, the United Republic of Tanzania, the Upper Volta, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia and Zambia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Maudave (Mauritius) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Zarif (Afghanistan), Mr. Hadj Azzout (Algeria), Mr. de Figueiredo (Angola), Mr. Muñiz (Argentina), Mr. Woolcott (Australia), Mr. Hashim (Bangladesh), Mr. Moseley (Barbados), Mr. Adjibade (Benin), Mr. Mogwe (Botswana), Mr. Tsvetkov (Bulgaria), Mr. Pelletier (Canada), Mr. Trucco (Chile), Mr. Albán Holguín (Colombia), Mr. Malmierca (Cuba), Mr. Moushoutas (Cyprus), Mr. Suja (Czechoslovakia), Mr. Al-Ashtal (Democratic Yemen), Mr. Khalil (Egypt), Mr. Ibrahim (Ethiopia), Mr. Davin (Gabon), Mr. Blain (Gambia), Mr. Ott (German Democratic Republic), Mr. van Well (Federal Republic of Germany), Mr. Gbeho (Ghana), Mr. Taylor (Grenada), Mr. Kaba (Guinea), Mr. Rácz (Hungary), Mr. Rao (India), Mr. Kusumaatmadja (Indonesia), Mr. Serajzadeh (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Shearer (Jamaica), Mr. Kuroda (Japan), Mr. Wabuge (Kenya), Mr. Abulhassan (Kuwait), Mrs. Jones (Liberia), Mr. Burwin (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Tan Sri Zainal Abidin (Malaysia), Mr. Traore (Mali), Mr. Muñoz Ledo (Mexico), Mr. Erdenechuluun

(Mongolia), Mr. Mrani Zentar (Morocco), Mr. Chissano (Mozambique), Mr. Oumarou (Niger), Mr. Bolokor (Nigeria), Mr. Cabrera (Panama), Mr. Jamal (Qatar), Mr. Marinescu (Romania), Mr. Niasse (Senegal), Ms. Gonthier (Seychelles), Mr. Stevens (Sierra Leone), Mr. Adan (Somalia), Mr. von Schirnding (South Africa), Mr. Fonseka (Sri Lanka), Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Slim (Tunisia), Mr. Kirca (Turkey), Mr. Owiny (Uganda), Mr. Salim (United Republic of Tanzania), Mr. Bassole (Upper Volta), Mr. Chaderton-Matos (Venezuela), Mr. Le Kim Chung (Viet Nam), Mr. Mojsov (Yugoslavia) and Mr. Goma (Zambia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

4. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken at the 2439th meeting, I invite the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia and the delegation of the Council to take places at the Security Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Lusaka (President of the United Nations Council for Namibia) and the other members of the delegation took places at the Council table.

5. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken at the 2439th meeting, I invite Mr. Sam Nujoma, President of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), to take a place at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Nujoma took a place at the Council table.

6. The PRESIDENT: The first speaker is the representative of Venezuela. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

7. Mr. CHADERTON MATOS (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Sir, we are pleased to see you assuming the presidency of the Council this month. Your qualities as a diplomat and your long international experience as the representative of Zimbabwe guarantee positive leadership during these meetings.

8. We wish to congratulate the President of the Council for the month of May on his skilful leadership of the Council which led to the adoption of resolution 532 (1983).

9. My country wishes to thank you, Sir, and the members of the Council for giving us this opportunity to participate in the debate.

10. Once again, the United Nations is faced with the efforts of the South African racist régime to maintain its unlawful occupation of Namibia in disregard of the decisions of the Organization and in open rebellion against the international community.

11. We Venezuelans feel very particularly committed to the cause of the Namibian people. Venezuela is a traditionally democratic anti-racist and anti-colonialist country. It was a member of the Security Council when resolution 435 (1978) was adopted. For a number of years it has been a very active member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, whose important work in support of independence for Namibia we have long supported under the efficient leadership of Mr. Paul Lusaka.

12. Recently two important meetings were held, the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, at New Delhi in March, and the International Conference in Support of the Struggle of the Namibian People for Independence, in Paris in April. We endorse the views which were put forward at those meetings and support the appeals for a speedy settlement of the problem of the independence of Namibia.

13. In the face of South African usurpation, we affirm the right of the people of Namibia to self-determination, freedom, democracy, territorial integrity and national independence.

14. These rights of the Namibian people can be exercised by effective implementation of Council resolution 435 (1978). That is the sole basis for the peaceful settlement of the problem of Namibia within the framework of the United Nations.

15. South Africa's stubbornness, the plundering of the natural resources of Namibia by the Pretoria racists, the constant acts of aggression by their military forces against the front-line countries and other independent African countries constitute a serious threat to regional and world peace and must be stopped.

16. We cannot sit idly by and witness the failure of the many efforts made over the past years for the independence of Namibia. Instead of being discouraged, we find even more reason, even more encouragement to support the Namibian people in their struggle for independence.

17. We wish to emphasize and pay a tribute to the effectiveness and usefulness of the necessary steps taken by the Secretary-General in this direction, with his moral authority, to promote a peaceful settlement to this conflict which calls for responsibility and serious thought on the part of the parties concerned. We must pledge our full support to him in the exercise of his special responsibility.

18. This is a good time to remind the Council of the recent background to the problems of southern Africa which constitute a threat to international peace and security.

19. Zimbabwe is an ideal example of an intelligent and realistic solution to a serious problem arising from colonialism and illegality. This solution led to independence and democracy for that fraternal African nation. The spirit of Lancaster House is a positive precedent. If the political wisdom and pragmatism that underlay that spirit had been used to resolve other conflicts, there would be fewer tragedies in the world today. If political wisdom and pragmatism were to inspire all the parties concerned in the Namibian problem, then we could find a peaceful solution in keeping with resolution 435 (1978).

20. The presence of outside factors subsequent to resolution 435 (1978) is not conducive to the efforts to create an independent democratic State in Namibia. We note that the introduction of outside factors, far from neutralizing local or international extremist options as happened in earlier cases, may well strengthen these extremist options and increase their number to the detriment of the alternatives of peace and restraint, without which there can be no really independent, sovereign and democratic future for Namibia.

21. The United Nations vocation to further the independence of Namibia must be successfully fulfilled. Our inability to solve the problem has allowed the South African dictatorship to continue its unlawful occupation of Namibia, to oppress the people, exploit their resources and attack neighbouring countries, as has been shown by the recent military aggression against Mozambique.

22. There can be no peace on the African continent so long as the Namibian people are subject to these opprobrious policies. The independence of Namibia is necessary if there is to be a just and lasting peace in the region. Venezuela is deeply concerned about this deplorable situation. For this reason we support the efforts that have been made in good faith to solve the problem. We also support SWAPO, the authentic and legitimate representative of the people of Namibia, in its efforts to achieve independence, freedom and a democratic State that guarantees human rights and whose presence and influence are needed by the African community and the entire international community.

23. We hope that the resolution adopted yesterday will not be a dead letter but a great stride forward.

24. Before concluding I should like to read out a message sent yesterday by the President of Venezuela, Mr. Luis Herrera Campíns, to the President of the Council for the month of May.

[*The speaker read out the text quoted in document S/15807.*]

25. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Grenada, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

26. Mr. TAYLOR (Grenada): Sir, first of all I wish to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of June. Perhaps I am fortunate that I am addressing the Council at this point, because it gives me an opportunity, immediately after the representative of Venezuela, to say a word of welcome to you. Our countries, Zimbabwe and Grenada, share a great deal. We have a common history of struggle, but perhaps more important to us at this time is the fact that, existentially, we are in the same boat. Therefore we are convinced that the work that was started and was effectively undertaken by the representative of Zaire, will be continued under your guidance.

27. The Council is meeting as a result of the virtually universal demand of the international community for decisive action towards independence for the Namibian people. These meetings are perhaps a good omen. Lamentably, however, these meetings of the Council cannot in themselves diminish our anger and frustration, which have come about as a result of four decades of fine oratory and well-intentioned resolutions but virtually no action. Here in the Council and also in the General Assembly we have produced a great deal of sometimes frightening thunder, but the political drought on the question of Namibia continues. We cannot lose sight of the fact that these meetings have been convened 17 years after the historic General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966, terminating South Africa's Mandate over Namibia, 12 years after the equally historic advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice,[1] which vindicated the General Assembly decision and further stated that South Africa's occupation of Namibia was illegal, and five years after the adoption of resolution 435 (1978).

28. After all these years and after all these and other truly historic decisions, the racist South African Government, aided and abetted by its patrons and benefactors, continues, without compunction, to flout the will of the international community.

29. Over these years we have witnessed the savagery and ferocity of the racist *apartheid* monster as thousands of our brothers and sisters have been brutally and coldbloodedly murdered in Namibia and in South Africa. After all these years we know the *apartheid* monster and we know its ruthlessness and its propensity to procrastinate and prevaricate. However, we are alarmed at the fact that others, including a permanent member of this body, are prepared to support and defend South Africa's policies of genocide.

30. It is a well-known fact that Namibia is held hostage because the United States insists, by virtue of its policy of linkage, that Cuban internationalist forces must be withdrawn from the sister Republic of Angola before Namibia becomes independent. We utterly reject this so-called linkage policy because it makes the racist Pretoria régime more arrogant, intransigent and callous. It entices South Africa to continue its heinous crimes against humanity. Moreover, independence for our oppressed and exploited brothers and sisters of Namibia cannot be predicated upon a diminution of Angolan sovereignty. South Africa and whoever supports its crimes cannot be given the right to establish the price of Namibian independence; that price the Namibians are paying in blood. The front-line and other African States support the genuine aspirations of our heroic Namibian brothers and sisters at great economic cost and at the cost of the lives of innocent citizens.

31. Indeed, only a few days ago, the Pretoria Fascists mounted another of their self-styled punitive air raids against the sister republic of Mozambique at the very moment the Council was commencing these deliberations. South Africa's baseless theories of racial superiority make it as irrational and mindless as such theories made its ideological mentors—Hitler's Nazi gangs—more than

four decades ago. Appeasement enticed the Nazis into making greater and more and more ludicrous demands. Pampering would certainly make the racist monster more pig-headed.

32. We welcome, as we have always done, every effort to bring Namibia's enslavement, this very sad chapter in Africa's history, to an end peacefully. However, we harbour no illusions. Only the intensification of the armed struggle will force South Africa to let Namibia go, and that is why we are convinced that the struggle in Namibia is clear-cut. In that struggle there is no neutrality, no middle ground, because, as things are at the moment, if we talk about equitableness in a struggle between the oppressor and the oppressed we are quite deliberately talking about hypocrisy. Today the struggle is clear-cut. One can be either on the side of the oppressed Namibian people or on the side of their racist oppressors. Those that choose to protect and defend South Africa must cease to lecture us on questions of justice and democracy.

33. In conclusion, I wish to state, in the name of the Government and people of Grenada, that we commend the front-line States for the unstinting support that they continue to give to the liberation struggles in southern Africa. We commend also the efforts made by the Secretary-General to resolve the issues around Namibia peacefully. I also take this opportunity to reaffirm Grenada's solidarity with and eternal support for our brothers and sisters in Namibia in their struggle for independence under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and authentic leaders.

34. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Colombia, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

35. Mr. ALBÁN HOLGUÍN (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like first of all to express to you, Mr. President, and to the other members of the Council my appreciation for this opportunity to take part in this important debate. I am also very pleased to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. We are certain and confident that with your fine qualities you will be able effectively to guide the Council's work.

36. The presence here of some 40 Foreign Ministers from Africa, Asia and Latin America testifies to the magnitude of the problem of Namibia. These meetings, together with two great international conferences—the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, at New Delhi, and the International Conference in Support of the Struggle of the Namibian People for Independence, in Paris,—are an indication of the great international interest in this question and of the need for a speedy solution to it.

37. At both of those international conferences my country joined in supporting the cause of the Namibian people as it has been doing for 15 years in its capacity as a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia.

38. In this dual capacity, my delegation calls on the Security Council to take the action necessary to bring about strict compliance with its resolution 435 (1978), which approved the independence plan for Namibia. My country considers that the Council must shoulder its full responsibility and must therefore define the specific objectives, in terms of deadlines, so that the independence process can finally be brought to fruition. Having heard the statements of the various Powers, we believe that the necessary awareness and political will exist so that the Council can act accordingly.

39. The Secretary-General too has inspired hope in us. Since he began his term more than a year ago he has devoted himself with fervour, patience, intelligence and realism to devising a way of bringing about an agreement. At the Paris Conference his dedication inspired us to seek and obtain full support for his efforts. We are convinced that, with the concerted support of the Council, the Secretary-General is the best person to speed the fulfilment of the aspirations of the Namibian people for freedom.

40. We believe that there is reason for optimism. The Secretary-General himself, in his report on the present situation [*S/15776*], has told us that the sole outstanding questions concern the choice of an electoral system and the settling of some problems relating to the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) and its composition. The Secretary-General concludes that the process is in an advanced stage and that consultations and negotiations have gone far enough to guarantee the achievement of a just, peaceful and final settlement of the question of Namibia.

41. Colombia considers that this could be the Council's last chance to provide the support for which the Secretary-General is calling and which he is fully entitled to expect. A further round of negotiations, without any snags, excuses or delays, could lead us to a final agreement.

42. SWAPO has called on the Council to compel South Africa to sign a cease-fire agreement, as set out in the United Nations plan, to open the way to a final settlement of the conflict. In the dramatic words of the President of SWAPO: "The Namibian people have already suffered for too long . . ." [*2439th meeting, para. 150.*] We all agree with him. It is time for violence, selfishness and the lack of self-restraint to come to an end and for us to give common sense a chance.

43. The unjust existence of this final bastion of colonialism in Africa has been responsible for the world Organization's great efforts being committed to and channelled towards its solution, when they could have been dedicated to the full development of those great and invaluable human, technical, natural and financial resources of Namibia and of southern Africa in general.

44. Namibia must, without delay, gain the independence to which it is entitled and for which it yearns. Every day that passes without freedom for that country is a day of

mourning for countries that cherish such freedom and a source of shame for the international community and of discredit for the United Nations itself. No people, no nation, can in the future be proud of any victory in the field of human rights so long as the Namibian people continue to be downtrodden as they are now. No political, economic or military consideration can be invoked to the detriment of the sacred fundamental rights and freedoms of the Namibians. All the members of the Council know this. We place our hope and our trust in their action.

45. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Cyprus. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

46. Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Cyprus): It is with special warmth that I congratulate you, Sir, the representative of a country with which we have the friendliest ties, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of June. I feel certain that, under your able guidance and with your great diplomatic skills, the deliberations of the Council will be successfully concluded.

47. I should like also to congratulate the retiring President of the Council. During part of May, the presidency was assumed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zaire, Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda, to whom also we pay a tribute on the excellent manner in which he conducted the work of the Council.

48. The question of Namibia is a clear case of colonialism, illegal foreign occupation and racism persisting in blatant violation of the rights of the Namibian people and in defiance of the very authority of the United Nations under whose direct responsibility the Territory of Namibia was placed 15 years ago.

49. The United Nations has set itself the noble task of leading the Namibians to independence and it has a duty and an obligation to fulfil its responsibilities with regard to that task. On this, I am sure, we all agree; yet Namibia remains illegally occupied by South Africa and its people are denied their right to self-determination. Our convictions must now, more than ever before, be matched by our deeds.

50. Cyprus would like to stress once again in this very important body its commitment to and strong support for the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, which provides the only peaceful procedure for a negotiated settlement of this major international problem. We stand firmly by the plan and demand its early implementation without any modification, qualification or delay. As I indicated earlier, the question of Namibia is a clear case of decolonization. It should not therefore be linked to other extraneous issues in the region.

51. The current situation in Namibia poses a serious threat to international peace and security. The constantly provocative and arrogant attitude of South Africa in flouting the repeated appeals of the international community, together with the failure to implement United Nations resolutions, aggravates the already explosive situation in southern Africa.

52. South Africa, regrettably, continues to organize and further elaborate its machinery of repression against the Namibian people, denying them their most fundamental rights and freedoms. Furthermore, South Africa continually increases its military presence in Namibia, thus reinforcing its illegal occupation of the Territory and the exploitation and plunder of the rich natural resources of Namibia, in violation of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, enacted in 1974 by the United Nations Council for Namibia.[2]

53. In order to consolidate and prolong its illegal occupation of Namibia, South Africa constantly expands its aggressive policies throughout the southern African region. Once again, Cyprus expresses its vehement and unequivocal condemnation of the large-scale incursions of South African forces into neighbouring front-line States, as manifested in its most recent air raid against Mozambique, its invasion and occupation of the southern part of Angola and its destabilization policy in the neighbouring States.

54. It therefore becomes increasingly imperative that we act as a matter of urgency. The United Nations, with the exception of imposing the arms embargo, has so far concentrated on exerting moral pressure on South Africa through its resolutions. However, no concrete results have so far been produced and the Pretoria régime continues to cause frustration and disappointment to the Namibian people and the world at large.

55. As a result of this constantly deteriorating situation, suffering, exploitation and oppression continue to be the painful everyday characteristics of life for the Namibians. But despite the bitterness and frustration it creates, this situation gives rise to strengthened solidarity, determination and unity among the people of Namibia and among the international community, which consistently supports their struggle, as recently declared by the International Conference in Support of the Struggle of the Namibian People for Independence, held in Paris.

56. Cyprus, for its part, itself struggling under conditions of gross injustice to safeguard its own independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-aligned status, will, as it has consistently done in the past, continue to support the noble cause of the people of Namibia.

57. As one of the members of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Cyprus joins all those that are in the vanguard of the struggle for the liberation of Namibia and in the fight at the international level.

58. We firmly recognize SWAPO, whose President, Mr. Sam Nujoma, we warmly welcome here, as the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people. We trust that their hard and painful struggle will soon produce the desired result: an independent and united Namibia, with territorial integrity, including Walvis Bay and the offshore islands.

59. We know from our own experience that resolutions alone cannot lead to the desired goal; it is their effective implementation that is of paramount importance. The implementation of the United Nations plan is long overdue. It is the duty of the United Nations, and especially the Council, to take the necessary steps and measures to ensure the expeditious implementation of Council resolution 435 (1978). The Council therefore correctly decided yesterday, through resolution 532 (1983), to indicate a time-frame for the implementation of th resolution, to keep the matter under active review and to enhance the role of the Secretary-General.

60. The Secretary-General, in these most turbulent times, is being increasingly accorded active roles in various situations around the world. This can be attributed to his excellent personal and diplomatic qualities and to the confidence and trust he enjoys from the international community. We express our deep appreciation of his tireless efforts and dedication to the cause of Namibia.

61. Should South Africa again fail to comply with the Council decisions, the Council should be prepared to act under Chapter VII of the Charter, otherwise a heavy blow will be dealt to the aspirations not only of the Namibian people but of humanity as a whole, which aspires to a world of freedom and justice.

62. Cyprus stands firmly and unswervingly by the side of Namibia in the midst of its own tragedy and tribulations. With its independence and territorial integrity shattered by a foreign army of occupation, Cyprus continues its peaceful efforts in the quest for freedom, justice and vindication.

63. Although it appears the world over that those who demolish principles cannot easily be converted into adherents of justice, I should like to express the hope that, through international solidarity and pressure, the people of Namibia, together with all others who are wronged, oppressed or downtrodden in this turbulent world, will ultimately be vindicated.

64. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Ghana. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

65. Mr. GBEHO (Ghana): I should like to begin my statement, Sir, by congratulating you most warmly on your accession to the presidency of the Council for this month. It is an honour richly deserved by reason of your personal qualities as an outstanding diplomat and distinguished representative of your country. You have already given ample proof of these qualities in your participation in the deliberations of the Council, and of course I am confident that you will preside over the Council's consideration of the all-important question of Namibia with the same objectivity, the same skill and the same tact and, above all, a commitment to the furtherance of the aims and objectives of the Council and the United Nations as a whole in the maintenance of international peace and security.

66. The continued subjugation of the people of Namibia under the oppressive and racist colonial régime of *apartheid* South Africa constitutes one of the gravest threats to world peace. Recent events in that Territory and the actions of the Pretoria régime in southern Africa generally deepen the threat. It is because of that serious threat that we have called into question the handling of the issue by the Western contact group, in which so much hope for a peaceful solution had in vain been invested by many of us in Africa.

67. The people and Government of Ghana have been particularly frustrated and disappointed by the continually elusive search for independence for the Territory because Namibia represents one of the major obstacles to the attainment of our historic commitment to the achievement of the total liberation of the African continent from all vestiges of colonialism and racist imperialism. *Apartheid* South Africa's continued occupation and control of Namibia in defiance of repeated requests by the United Nations to grant freedom and independence to the long-suffering people of that Territory are not only an obdurate and hopeless attempt to stem the tide of history but also an affront to the dignity of the Afican continent and the international community as a whole. To Ghana, in particular, it is a painful and most distressing situation.

68. It is indeed painful to realize that the racist and abhorrent régime of South Africa is emboldened and sustained in its continued intransigence and defiance with regard to Namibia by the support it enjoys from some of the most powerful countries that are in a position to bring it to heel and, worse still, have been entrusted by the world community with the responsibility of seeking a peaceful solution to the Namibian independence dispute.

69. What, indeed, have we seen—especially over the past two years—if not a serious retrogression in the prospects for a peaceful transition to independence in Namibia? Instead of rapid progress, as we had all hoped and expected, towards the attainment of independence through the exercise of the inalienable right of the people of that Territory to elect their own government and rulers, South Africa and its powerful friends have employed every subterfuge to frustrate the restoration of freedom and justice to the people of Namibia.

70. These tactics have been amply documented in the relevant United Nations reports on Namibia and I need not go into them at any length, as representatives are well aware of and have access to them. Suffice it to highlight two main elements in the most recent attempts to undermine and frustrate the implementation of Council resolution 435 (1978).

71. First, an attempt had been made by South Africa and its supporters to block the inevitable attainment by SWAPO of constitutional power through the ballot box by the proposal of a most ridiculous and disingenuous electoral arrangement, which would have resulted in the establishment of a so-called combination system for Namibia—a most peculiar voting aberration, unheard of anywhere else in the world. It took the firm opposition of

SWAPO, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Non-Aligned Movement to put a stop—a final stop, we hope—to this particular electoral machination and act of mischief-making by South Africa.

72. Secondly—and this is perhaps the more serious and irrelevant subterfuge, which has brought the Namibia issue to its present impasse—there has been an attempt made to link the independence of Namibia with the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. Again, this has been unanimously opposed at every turn, not only by SWAPO but also by the front-line States, the OAU, the Non-Aligned Movement and the overwhelming majority of countries in the international community.

73. It is South Africa and a handful of its powerful supporters alone that have persisted, against all reason, in dictating to the Government and people of Angola which troops they may allow on their soil in the exercise of their sovereign right to defend their territorial integrity. The most surprising aspect of this peculiar line of argument is that nothing is said about the South African invasion forces still occupying parts of Angolan territory. It is convenient for the proponents of the linkage of Cuban troop withdrawal with the Namibia independence issue not only to forget that the Namibia question has nothing to do with the Angolan Government's defence of its territorial integrity, but also to pretend that Angola itself faces no threat of further aggression and invasion from South Africa. Besides, what may we ask, are the South African-backed and armed UNITA [*National Union for the Total Independence of Angola*] bandits doing inside Angola? Whom are they working for, if not international capitalism and imperialism, which are hand in glove with racist South Africa? No one except South Africa and its mentors has seen any wisdom in the linkage theory, and it is our hope that this debate will see the last of that fraudulent demand.

74. One cannot, indeed, escape the overwhelming impression that there have been consistent, deliberate and increasing attempts on the part of international capitalism to frustrate and impede progress towards Namibia's independence for as long as possible. The centre-piece of this scheme has been *apartheid* South Africa's acts of aggression against and destabilization of neighbouring countries in the region. Yet the international mass media, controlled by the multinationals that are busily exploiting the wealth of Namibia, would have us believe that South Africa is a paragon of sweet reasonableness, willing to reach an agreement in the Namibian negotiations. The evidence, however, is that negotiations over Namibia have been scuttled each time they have been on the point of agreement by South Africa's introduction of extraneous and irrelevant issues that have nothing to do with Council resolution 435 (1978). South Africa has equally consistently received support in its dilatory tactics from the very countries that have vested economic interests in Namibia.

75. In fact, so enthusiastic and consistent has been that support that many countries wonder how we came to elect the five North Atlantic Treaty Organization countries, which have significant economic interests in Namibia and South Africa, to serve as honest brokers in these important negotiations. It is therefore obvious that the delaying tactics adopted by South Africa and its supporters have the more sinister purpose of creating a smoke-screen for the continued control of Namibia by the *apartheid* régime through its attempts to establish fresh internal constitutional arrangements for the Territory.

76. Meanwhile, under cover of that same smoke-screen, the rape of Namibia, the ruthless exploitation of the mineral wealth of that hapless Territory, continues unabated and at an accelerated pace. Indeed, it looks as if South Africa and its allies are determined to bleed Namibia dry and take every ounce of its wealth before they consent to hand over the Territory to its rightful and legitimate inhabitants, if they ever do so. Since such activities are clearly in violation of the letter and spirit of the decrees of the United Nations Council for Namibia, my Government wishes to re-emphasize that those involved in the shameless exploitation of Namibia will have to accept the penalties for such anti-Namibian activities at the appropriate time.

77. Five years of prevarication and delay with regard to the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) on Namibia is long enough, and we could not agree more with the Secretary-General's conclusion in his latest report on the Territory [*S/15776*] that the independence of Namibia is the essential and primary issue which we must now face up to without further delay. In this connection, the Government of Ghana wishes to reaffirm its total support for the Paris Declaration on Namibia adopted at the International Conference last month.[3]

78. We wish also to express our support for resolution 532 (1983), which has just been adopted by the Council, because it articulates the international community's dissatisfaction with the present impasse in the negotiations on Namibia's independence. Furthermore, we see this resolution as the Council's first step towards ensuring the full implementation of resolution 435 (1978).

79. We wish for our part to reiterate our commitment to the full implementation of resolution 435 (1978) without any deviation or dilution, and we hope that the momentum just regenerated by the Council by the adoption of resolution 532 (1983) can be sustained with a view to establishing UNTAG in Namibia this autumn.

80. Ghana is totally opposed to any attempts now or in the future to link the independence of Namibia with the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. The presence of Cuban troops in Angola is a matter for the Cuban and Angolan Governments alone to decide in the exercise of their sovereign rights. We trust that the absence of this demand in the Council's resolution to which I have just referred has disposed of the matter once and for all.

81. I should like to conclude my remarks by reaffirming Ghana's continued commitment to and support for the Namibian people's struggle, under the leadership of SWAPO, for the total liberation and independence of their motherland. We shall continue to support the people of Namibia in every way possible through the OAU and

the United Nations to bring freedom and independence to the Territory.

82. We wish in particular to place on record our appreciation of the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General in his search for a peaceful solution to the Namibia independence dispute and to urge the Council to give him its fullest and most immediate support in the fresh start we have just made in bringing Namibia rapidly to freedom and independence in strict accordance with Council resolution 435 (1978) and other relevant resolutions of the United Nations. My Government is ready to give the Secretary-General any assistance within our means to enable him to carry out the onerous duties now entrusted to him in translating resolution 435 (1978) into reality.

83. Ghana remains committed to the total liberation of the African continent and to the maintenance of world peace and security. Therefore, it cannot and will not shirk its responsibility towards the people of Namibia. We hope that the Council also will continue to shoulder its responsibility in the matter.

84. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is Mr. Johnstone F. Makatini, representative of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), to whom the Council extended an invitation at its 2447th meeting. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

85. Mr. MAKATINI: Mr. President, I thank you most sincerely for giving me the opportunity to express, on behalf of the oppressed and struggling people of South Africa, the views and position of ANC on the burning issue before the Council. Our thanks also go to all the other members of the Council for making this possible.

86. Your country's and your own personal commitment to the struggle for the total liberation of the African continent is well known, Sir. It is therefore with a deep sense of satisfaction that we see you presiding over the deliberations of the Council when it is discussing the Namibian problem.

87. The ANC delegation wishes to pay a well-deserved tribute to the States members of both the OAU and the Non-Aligned Movement for their initiative in having so many Ministers for Foreign Affairs come to New York to express their common concern with clarity and firmness at this crucial period in the struggle of the Namibian people.

88. Since this is the first time we have appeared before the Council this year and this month, I should like first of all to take this opportunity to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the high office of President of the Council during the month of June, and the representatives of Malta, the Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan and Zimbabwe, the new members of the Council. That all their Governments and they themselves fully share the paramount objective of ANC of a non-racial, democratic society for all the South African people, regardless of race, colour or creed, is a source of strength to our movement and our noble cause.

89. We must not fail to express our appreciation to the representatives they have replaced. Their teamwork with all the other countries that are equally committed to the African liberation cause helped us to reach important political milestones.

90. May I also be excused for singling out the delegation of Zimbabwe so as to salute, even in his absence, a dear friend and comrade-in-arms, the Minister for Foreign Affairs. This is not simply because we feel singularly inspired and encouraged at seeing former fellow freedom fighters—with whom we shared the so-called terrorist label that rightfully belonged to Ian Smith—now seated as representatives in the Council. I salute you, Mr. President, and your Minister for Foreign Affairs and express the admiration of ANC for the able manner in which your Government and Comrade Robert Mugabe continue successfully to detect and defuse the numerous time-bombs deliberately set by the erstwhile Pretoria-Salisbury axis and its partners in the anti-African alliances.

91. The exhaustive catalogue of betrayals of the Namibian people's just and heroic struggle so eloquently cited by several Ministers for Foreign Affairs and many representatives of non-aligned and other countries committed to the African liberation cause revealed the continuing conspiracy not only to delay but also to derail the progress towards genuine independence of Namibia.

92. We shall refrain from repeating what has been so effectively stated to demonstrate the endless maze of double-talk, prevarications and other impediments designed to delay and prevent the independence of Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO, the sole authentic and far-sighted representative of the Namibian people.

93. I should like at this juncture to pay a glowing tribute to the brother people of Namibia, our comrade-in-arms, SWAPO, and the People's Liberation Army of Namibia for the outstanding heroism, perseverance and fortitude that they have displayed not only in shattering racist South Africa's much-vaunted military might but also in facing up to the endless conspiracies. The task of Comrade Sam Nujoma, the President of SWAPO, has not been an easy one.

94. The hopes raised by the emergence in 1978 of the Western contact group have been dashed to the ground by its refusal to exert the promised collective diplomatic and economic leverage on the intransigent racist régime.

95. However, it would not be proper or fair to say that the present state of affairs fully vindicates the fears that were entertained by some silent but doubting Thomases who strongly questioned the intentions of the contact group, comprising as it does countries that have earned international notoriety for the collaboration they continue to enjoy with the illegal occuper of Namibia.

96. In their favour it can be argued that they succeeded in bringing the Pretoria régime, albeit screaming and kicking, to the negotiating table at the pre-implementation meeting at Geneva in January 1981. The fact that these were countries that throughout had pursued a policy of duplicity, if not of outright support for the *apartheid* régime, raised sharp questions and doubts.

97. Even though mindful of the fact that this initiative could have been motivated by the contact group's attempt to delay the struggle with a view to imposing a fictitious neo-colonialist solution, the self-confidence, maturity and good faith of SWAPO and the front-line States were proved by their co-operation and agreement to make concessions.

98. The co-operation and readiness of SWAPO to facilitate the settlement were demonstrated unequivocally when Comrade Sam Nujoma stood up at the Geneva meeting and declared his readiness to sign a cease-fire and agree to the immediate implementation of the United Nations plan. It will be recalled that the so-called South African Administrator-General announced on 13 January 1981—a week before the inauguration of the new United Nations Administration—that South Africa was not prepared to proceed with implementing the United Nations plan. Torpedoed by the *apartheid* régime—which was obviously jubilant over the demise of the Jimmy Carter Administration and its policy of recognizing the indigenous character of the struggle for decolonization in Namibia and a non-racial, democratic society in South Africa—the pre-implementation meeting broke up.

99. What followed those developments is of vital and fundamental importance for the settlement of the Namibia question, the elimination of the *apartheid* system and the solution of the problems of peace, stability and security in southern Africa. It is vital to the Council, whose *raison d'être* is the settlement of disputes and the maintenance of peace.

100. President Ronald Reagan's public embrace of the Pretoria régime as a friend and ally elicited surprise, consternation and shock, embarrassed the American people, friends and allies, angered the African people, and caused jubilation in Pretoria. He went further by assuring that régime that the United States would not leave it in the lurch, that the Administration would pursue a policy of constructive engagement aimed at removing the polecat status imposed on the racist régime by the international community and would set a pre-condition linking the withdrawal of the Cuban internationalist forces with Namibia's independence; that the Administration would reward the African countries that befriended the régime and punish and even topple those that assisted ANC and SWAPO; and that the settlement of the Namibian question must take into account the South African régime's "legitimate security concerns".

101. Those and several other statements of solidarity with the self-confessed Nazi supporters, whose system of *apartheid* stands universally condemned as a crime against humanity and a threat to world peace, led to the unholy alliance that continues to grow. That alliance has been further strengthened by secret visits by the régime's military intelligence officials, the training of racist South Africa's coast guards in the United States, the visit to South Africa by William Casey, Chief of the United States Central Intelligence Agency, for discussions on the problem of Namibia and *apartheid*, and constant attacks against ANC and SWAPO as terrorist organizations.

102. There could have been no greater solidarity for a régime which for decades has been an international pariah. This encouraged and emboldened the régime to show greater intransigence, practise more brutal repression inside South Africa, step up assassinations of ANC leaders in the country and the neighbouring States, undertake more brazen acts of destabilization and aggression against the front-line, Indian Ocean and neighbouring countries. We have no doubt that the United Nations plan has been the biggest casualty of the Washington-Pretoria axis.

103. As a direct consequence of the United States giving comfort and succour to its strategic ally, the *apartheid* régime, we find that the present South African representative can make the outrageous claim that its presence in Namibia is legal.

104. In a statement before the Council the other day, the Pretoria régime's representative declared:

> "The time has come to remind the United Nations that South Africa has never accepted the United Nations view that South Africa's presence in the Territory is illegal; nor has the International Court of Justice ever delivered a binding judgement to the effect that South Africa's right to administer the Territory has been terminated. As far as South Africa is concerned, it continues to administer the Territory legally and in conformity with the spirit of the lapsed Mandate from the League of Nations." [*2440th meeting, para. 71.*]

This defiant, categorical and unequivocal statement goes to the root of the whole problem and flatly negates the oft-repeated assurances by the contact group that the negotiations have reached a crucial stage and the independence of Namibia is around the corner.

105. In his statement before the Council at its 2439th meeting, Comrade Sam Nujoma, the President of SWAPO, helpfully reminded us of the ruling given on 21 June 1971 by the International Court of Justice, in paragraph 133 of its advisory opinion, where it states that:

> "the continued presence of South Africa in Namibia being illegal, South Africa is under obligation to withdraw its administration from Namibia immediately and thus put an end to its occupation of the Territory".[1]

106. In the light of its position in the negotiation process for the independence of Namibia, it is abundantly

clear that the role of the United States cannot be considered that of an honest broker.

107. That the Namibian people, SWAPO, the front-line States and the United Nations have been deceived is self-evident. The question before us is whether the South African régime has been deceiving the contact group as well, or whether the régime undertook this deceptive exercise jointly with, and with the conscious collusion of, the contact group. This question must be answered by the contact group in the interest of its own credibility, not just in words but through action. If the contact group has been deceived by the *apartheid* régime we believe that, in defence of their compromised moral integrity, its members must now take the lead in calling for the imposition of sanctions against the South African régime.

108. In his closing remarks, Comrade Sam Nujoma repeated:

> ". . . unless this august body acts decisively to secure the withdrawal of South Africa from the international Territory of Namibia, we shall have no alternative but to continue the armed struggle with greater intensity". [*See 2439th meeting, para. 153.*]

This statement is a serious indictment of the international community in general and the contact group in particular.

109. For our part, we seize this opportunity to reaffirm our revolutionary solidarity with our comrades-in-arms, of SWAPO, the sole authentic representative of the people of Namibia. We pay a glowing tribute to its armed combatants, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia, and assure them that, now that the situation is ripe inside South Africa and ANC has joined them in the trenches, we shall fight side by side until final victory.

110. The Pretoria régime's illegal rule does not begin and end in Namibia. In South Africa itself, as a product of colonial conquest, the régime keeps the 23 million blacks under subjugation at the point of the gun and governs without the consent of the governed.

111. We raise this point because a few days ago there a lot was said and written about the situation in South Africa. On 23 May, South African war planes attacked Mozambique, bombing civilian targets, including private houses, a factory and a crèche, killing five adults and a child. This was boastfully reported by the *apartheid* régime as an act of retaliation for what took place in Pretoria on 20 May when the armed combatants of the Umkhonto we Sizwe MK attacked the South African Air Force headquarters.

112. We should like to make it quite clear that the alleged ANC bases that were supposedly attacked in Mozambique do not exist. This is well known to the South African régime thanks to its intelligence service. We should also like to make it clear that, contrary to the claims made by the régime, not only does ANC have no bases in Mozambique, but this is the case in all the neighbouring countries. And this point has been repeatedly stated by the régime's own Minister of Defence, Magnus Malan, who has said, according to the South African newspapers, that ANC is not waging an area war but a psychological war.

113. It is clear that the South African régime, unable to contain the rising tide of resistance in South Africa, has resorted to using the front-line States and Lesotho as scapegoats in order to placate the panic-stricken white constituents who are beginning to wonder if the régime is capable of defending them should ANC respond in kind and do what the régime has been doing since the advent of settler colonialism in South Africa.

114. The institutionalized racism, exploitation and plunder, bolstered by the legislative mechanism of the exclusively white Parliament, judiciary and provincial councils, are justified by South Africa on the basis of the white supremacy doctrine preached from the pulpit and taught in the classroom. Its agents are covered with the blood of innocent blacks, killed in prison, assassinated by hit squads inside the country or in neighbouring States, or massacred at Sharpeville, Soweto, Langa, Maseru or Matola. The régime's hangman is the busiest in the world, since that régime holds the world record for hangings.

115. The 23 million Africans are not only denied the right to vote by this régime, considered in some circles in the West as a member of the so-called free world, but are today being made foreigners in the land of their birth. They are daily being uprooted in their millions and herded off to the vast concentration camps for displaced persons in the bantustans—the so-called national independent States—where they either starve and die or sell their labour cheap in the urban areas where they can remain legally only for so long as they minister to the needs of the whites. Since 1976, a total of 8 million people have been forcibly removed and have lost their citizenship in South Africa.

116. These disabilities and a million others, including the expropriation of land, have been the lot of the blacks in South Africa since the advent of settler colonialism, when, after almost 200 years of fighting, our people's resistance was subdued, thanks to the superiority of the gun to the spear. Two years after the formation of the so-called Union of South Africa, ANC was formed in 1912. The 50 years of non-violent methods of struggle achieved little other than total dispossession, disenfranchisement and super-exploitation.

117. The heightened militancy and spirit of protests, which coincided with the wind of change in other parts of Africa, resulted in the increase of mass arrests, banishments, hangings and massacres, climaxed by the 1960 Sharpeville massacre in South Africa. The Soweto, Gogolito, Langa and Sharpeville massacres, and many others, resulted in the wanton murder of innocent black men, women and children, gunned down by racist police using Western weapons and carrying out their masters' standing orders to "shoot first and ask questions later".

118. It will be recalled that even after the Sharpeville massacre, ANC and its sister organizations, concerned over the then imminent proclamation of a Fascist Republic following the régime's world-wide condemnation and forced withdrawal from the Commonwealth, called for a national convention to discuss the future of the country. The letters addressed to the racist Prime Minister of the day by Nelson Mandela, acting on behalf of the already outlawed ANC, were not even accorded the courtesy of acknowledgement. Thus the last attempt by ANC to keep open the avenues for dialogue met with failure.

119. The last straw was the régime's use of its entire police force and army to crush a national strike, called by Nelson Mandela in the name of ANC in order to protest against the Fascist Republic. Yesterday's celebration of the proclamation was made less festive by the crisis of confidence which has hit the white community.

120. It was amid armed attacks against installations connected with the policy of *apartheid*, that Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK)—the spear of the nation—announced its formation on 16 December 1961 through its manifesto:

> "The Government policy of force, repression and violence will no longer be met with non-violence only. The choice is not ours. It has been made by the Nationalist Government which has rejected every peaceful demand by our people for rights and freedom and answered every such demand with force and yet more force. We of MK have always sought—as the liberation movement has sought—to achieve liberation without bloodshed and civil clash. We do so still. We hope, even at this late hour, that our first actions will awaken everyone to the realization of the disastrous situation to which the Nationalist policy is leading."

121. This situation and the historic decision taken by ANC in 1961 and continuing to this day is not unique. A large number of States, including Zimbabwe and the United States, were at some stage of their people's struggle for emancipation from colonial, alien or dictatorial régimes, forced to take the same position. A good number of States Members of the United Nations, including members of the Security Council, fall into this category. Indeed, it includes the United States, whose Declaration of Independence states that:

> "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness.—That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed,—That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new Government . . . organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to affect their Safety and Happiness. . . . But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security."

122. The rapidly deteriorating situation in southern Africa has been further aggravated by the régime's continued destabilization of Lesotho. Three days ago, following a bomb blast in Bloemfontein, carried out by one of the agents of the régime, later followed by an announcement from Maseru addressed to the South African Broadcasting Corporation, purporting to come from ANC and claiming responsibility for the bomb attack in Bloemfontein, the border with Lesotho was closed, causing the prevention of the passage of supplies of essential goods such as foodstuffs, medical supplies and petrol. This showed clearly that this attempt by the régime to discredit ANC was intended also to prepare the ground for stepping up the destabilization of Lesotho, if not the overthrowing of its legitimate Government and the replacing of it by South Africa's puppet, the leader of a counter-revolutionary group which is armed, equipped, financed and deployed by the South African régime.

123. We close by appealing to Member States to give this problem immediate attention, for Lesotho is the victim of aggression because it stands firm on the implementation of United Nations resolutions.

124. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is Mr. Clovis Maksoud, Permanent Observer of the League of Arab States to the United Nations, to whom the Council extended an invitation at its 2443rd meeting. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

125. Mr. MAKSOUD: Mr. President, I should like to express to you, and through you to the Council, the appreciation of the League of Arab States for the opportunity to make a statement here, in which we should like to reaffirm our traditional and continued support for the struggle of the people of Namibia, for the representative of the Namibian people, SWAPO, and for the President of SWAPO, who has addressed the Council.

126. I should like to take this opportunity to express to you, Sir, both in your personal capacity and as the representative of your great, struggling country, Zimbabwe, our warm friendship and solidarity with your people, whose struggle has given inspiration to the peoples of Africa and the Arab world in their efforts to achieve their liberation objectives.

127. In the last few days we have witnessed an array of statesmen, Ministers for Foreign Affairs, ambassadors and representatives of liberation struggles addressing the Council in a debate that resulted in Council resolution 532 (1983), which seeks to revitalize the commitment of the international community to the anchorage that the United Nations represents for the peoples of Africa and of the world.

128. During the debate we have all heard the details of the various aspects of the policy of *apartheid*, and the

techniques used to avoid the implementation of United Nations resolutions. We have seen how the *apartheid* régime of South Africa, believing as it does in institutionalizing *apartheid* and racism and manifesting its exclusionary racial policy, seeks to circumvent the will of the international community and the rights of the people of Namibia and southern Africa and to buy time and procrastinate with regard to the implementation of the various Council resolutions, more particularly resolution 435 (1978).

129. The struggle of the people of Namibia is well known. The League of Arab States and the Arab people support unequivocally the struggle to expedite the achievement of independence by the people of Namibia. The Arab nation as a whole realizes that what has taken place in the southern part of Africa is part of their own national struggle.

130. Nine member Arab countries belong to the OAU, our sister organization, and we share not only the problems of Namibia but problems throughout the third world, with which we share not only a common commitment but a common destiny. Therefore, in the struggle that SWAPO, ANC and the other liberation movements have undertaken, they have committed themselves to having recourse to the United Nations and to exploring all political options in order to ensure the pre-eminence of non-violence as a technique of struggle. Yet, when their rights have been consistently violated, violence has been systematically imposed. Violence is inherent in the colonial *apartheid* plan.

131. Much of the Western media and some Western countries have sought to focus on the reaction to violence and have claimed that it is a form of terrorism. This is a technique that was applied to the struggle of your country, Mr. President. This is a technique that has been applied to the struggle of the Namibian people. This is a technique that is applied today to the struggle of the Palestinian people.

132. It is a technique whereby *apartheid*—or Zionism, for that matter, or any form of settler colonialism—seeks to arrogate to itself a God-given right to exclude people from enjoying equality, to deprive them of their freedom, dignity and independence, and to do so without being challenged. Therefore, any form of challenge to racism, *apartheid* or settler colonialism is considered to be a challenge to law and order or a challenge to stability. Some in their arrogance have even gone so far as to say that it is a challenge to the so-called free world.

133. It was magnificent to see and hear the large number of Ministers for Foreign Affairs and statesmen from throughout the non-aligned countries and the African world who came here to bear witness to the need to provide the Council with the moral impetus to retrieve its own credibility and effectiveness. It was necessary to focus on the fact that the moral priority in the world community today is to guarantee the right to freedom and independence of the people of Namibia and all peoples throughout the world; and on the fact that all attempts to dilute this right, whether by introducing extraneous reasons, or linkages, or talk of "reasonable negotiating positions" are aimed at facing the Council and the struggling people of Namibia with an impossible option.

134. This impossible option is as follows: if the Security Council adopts resolutions whereby it assumes total responsibility under the Charter for world peace and order and international security and plays the role of deterring the aggressor and the violator of the legal, national and human rights of the people of Namibia by resorting to sanctions, it will not be possible to implement these resolutions. So the world community is cautioned in its deliberations that the resolutions it adopts should not reach their logical conclusion, that the United Nations should not assume its responsibilities under the Charter of the United Nations lest the assumption of responsibility for deterring the aggressor and violator and for setting in motion the corrective process in those areas should become a further excuse for South Africa—or, as in earlier cases, for Israel—to avoid compliance with United Nations resolutions, particularly Council resolutions. It is this technique of lessening the impact of the Council and of the United Nations as a whole that has led to disaffection, in many instances, on the part of the peoples of the world who have looked forward to the Council's process of policy-making, that is, not only setting policies but also implementing them.

135. The need is not so much for Council resolutions, although we welcome the latest resolution. The need is for an apparatus which sets in motion the implementation of these resolutions. The need is to restore the effectiveness of this body, the confidence of the world community and the credibility of these resolutions, and, if I may say so, in the light of the Charter and the expectations of mankind, the sanctity of these resolutions.

136. We say so because we in the Arab States—especially in the month of June last year, when Lebanon, my own country, was invaded by Israel—have often come to the Council pleading, sometimes begging, for justice with regard to limited objectives. We all remember how often, during the raid on and the siege of Beirut, the Council pleaded for the release of water supplies for the people of Beirut. In the same way, resolutions were unanimously adopted here. All the members know resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982), although they may not necessarily remember them vividly. Has Council resolution 435 (1978) suffered the same fate as Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982)?

137. Let it be said that the unanimous adoption of resolution 532 (1983) despite the various interpretations and circumstances, was intended to reinforce the mechanism of implementation and as an opportunity for implementing resolution 435 (1978). Otherwise we should find countries—super-Powers—voting for resolutions and then behaving in a manner that circumvents them. We should, as it were, be depriving the resolutions of their substance, of their meaning. Then there might be a time when the people of Namibia, the people of Africa, the

people of Palestine, of Lebanon and of the whole Arab nation would say: "Why do we have recourse to the Security Council when its resolutions cannot be implemented?"

138. There is, of course, an attempt by the two remaining colonial settlements in the third world, those of Israel and South Africa, to make all the peoples of the world, in their commitment to the United Nations, realize the helplessness of the Organization and the hopelessness of our peoples as regards achieving their legitimate, internationally recognized and inalienable rights to freedom and independence through recourse to and the exhaustion of diplomatic and political means. Both South Africa and Israel believe that their anachronistic, medieval ideologies, backed by the most modern military and nuclear equipment, can confound the world's conscience and consensus and restore to their own régimes and systems the ability to continue making Security Council resolutions totally irrelevant to conditions on the ground, whether in southern Lebanon, on the West Bank or in Namibia and southern Africa.

139. We wish to make an appeal on behalf of the League of Arab States, and I am sure that this appeal is shared by our sister organizations and their member States, as was manifested by the resolution of the non-aligned countries and that of the OAU. We appeal to the States of the contact group, in their approach to the problems of South Africa, not to consider our betting on their initiative and on their contacts as a way of becoming hostage to that group. The same applies to what is taking place in the Middle East: betting on United States initiatives is fundamentally distinct from becoming hostage to its unilateral crisis management.

140. The contact group of Western countries must realize that the confidence that might have been placed in their ability to defuse the critical nature of the situation and lessen the possibility of confrontation is not a green light for them to help, directly or indirectly, in subverting the legitimate national rights and aspirations of the people of Namibia.

141. The many similarities that exist between what is taking place in the Israeli-Arab conflict and what is taking place in the conflict between the African people, in particular the Namibian people, and the *apartheid* régime of South Africa, make it necessary for the League of Arab States and OAU to cross-fertilize by means of their respective experience in order to expedite their respective freedom struggles.

142. The PRESIDENT: The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.

NOTES

[1] *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971*, p. 16.

[2] See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 24*, vol. I, annex II.

[3] See *Report of the International Conference in Support of the Struggle of the Namibian People for Independence, Paris, 25-29 April 1983*, (A/CONF. 120/13), part three.

كيفية الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة

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